COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" The city rings around with loud alarms,
" And, raw in fields, its gay militia swarms;
" Mouths without hands, maintain'd at vast expense,
" In peace a charge, in war a weak defence.
" Stout, once a week, they march a blust'ring band,
" And ever, *but in times of need*, at hand;
" Of seeming arms they make a short essay,
" Then hasten to be drunk---the business of the day."
DRYDEN. Cymon and Iphigenia.

LETTER VII.

TO R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ. M. P.

SIR,——In pursuance of the plan laid down at the commencement of this series of letters, I should now proceed to an examination of your " political *consistency*;" but, upon surveying my materials, I find, that a bare enumeration of the several instances, to which I should have to refer, would, together with my comments, occupy more room, than I could, for the space of several months, allot to that purpose, in the weekly part of my work. This discovery has made me determine, to publish the numerous proofs of your consistency, either in the next supplement to the Register, or in a separate volume, by way of appendix to these letters; and, in the mean time, to close the series with the remaining topic, mentioned in my plan, to wit, " your connexion with the " London newspapers, the reciprocal de- " pendence which subsists between you and " the persons concerned in the conducting " of those papers, and the mischiefs which " have arisen, and which will yet arise, " from this reciprocity." Before, however, I enter on this new subject, I think it necessary to revert, for a few minutes, to one which has already been brought into view.

In my last, p. 487, speaking of your desertion of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, I mentioned the negotiation, which had been carried on by you, relative to the appointment, in the *army*, of a near relation of yours. I, at the same time, stated, that your terms were believed to be *higher* than his Royal Highness the Duke of York would finally consent to, and, perhaps, than the officers of the army *would have borne*. It is now three weeks, since this statement was published, and, I have, as yet, seen no attempt at contradiction, in any one of the numerous vehicles of abuse and falsehood, whose eulogist you are, and who, in return, espouse your cause, whenever they can do it with even the slightest probability of success. In order, however, to mislead the public as to the light, in which the Prince views your conduct, great pains have been taken to keep us constantly informed of the many times and the various occasions when you have latterly been in company with his Royal Highness; and, by way of indirect refutation of the statement relative to your negotiation with the Royal Duke at the head of the army, we are, at last, informed, that " Mr. Thomas Sheridan is appointed " to a cornetcy in the regiment of dragoons, " of which the prince of Wales is colonel, " and that he," the said Mr. Thomas Sheridan, " is to go to Scotland, in quality of " aide-du-camp to Lord Moira." While the public will naturally congratulate his lordship on the *aid* which he is likely to derive from this source, and will as naturally anticipate the satisfaction, which the Scotch will testify at receiving this mark of ministerial regard for their personal feelings as well as for their national security, there will, probably be found, some persons to express their wonder, that the same gentleman, who was once proposed as a colonel, should finally become a cornet; but, those who have observed the strange freaks, the whimsical malice, of disappointed ambition, will not be much surprised that the baffled coquetry with the Duke produced an unconditional surrender to the Prince, and that the aspiring youth, who aimed at the commanding of a regiment, should condescend to be himself commanded in a company. As to the question, whether the Prince ought to have accepted of your surrender at all, I leave that to be determined by others, just observing, in answer to those who are disposed to blame him on this account, that, all things considered, he has gained a victory, which is of some immediate importance, and which, if properly improved, may greatly conduce to his future personal happiness, and to the stability of the power which he is destined to exercise; for it is not to be disguised, that great moral integrity, as well as great political wisdom and great courage of every sort, *must* now be brought to the support of the royal authority. There is, however, another circumstance, connected with this transaction, on which I cannot refrain from saying a word or two. SWIFT makes an old Irish woman reprove one of her neighbours, who

was speaking censoriously of the gallows; "for," says she, "God knows what my own "dear children may come to!" Were it not well, Sir, that, in speaking of the "standing army," you had always been governed by the principle which ruled this your prudent and pious country-woman, in her conversation with respect to the gallows? You have, Sir, been in the constant habit of treating the regular army with abuse. As often as an occasion has offered, you have expressed sentiments calculated to excite, as far as your influence went, a jealousy and a hatred of it amongst the people, and to render the military profession odious, detestable, and infamous. To fifty, at least, of your speeches in parliament I could refer in proof of this statement; but, the most remarkable instance of your efforts in this way is, I think, to be found in one of those lessons, which your public spirit and loyalty have, from time to time, prepared for the improvement of the audience of Drury Lane Theatre.——

"JUSTICE.——Are all the volunteers without?
"CONSTABLE.——————They are.
"Some ten in *fetters*, and some twenty *drunk*.
"JUSTICE.—Attends the youth, whose most *opprobious* "*fame*
"And clear *convicted crimes* have *stampt him soldier?*
"CONSTABLE.——He waits your pleasure; eager "to repay
"The blest *reprieve* that sends him to the fields
"Of *glory*, there to raise his *branded* hand
"In *honour's* cause.
"LADY.——Forgive this interruption, good my "love;
"But, as I just now past, a pris'ner youth
"Whom rude hands hither lead, strange bodings "seiz'd
"My fluttering heart, and to myself I said,
"And if our TOM had liv'd, he'd surely been
"This stripling's height!*"

——It appears, by the sequel, that the bodings of the lady were perfectly right; but, you forgot to tell us, Sir, whether she did not experience very keen mortification, and whether the justice did not hang his head for shame, upon finding, that "the "youth, whose most *opprobious fame* and "clear *convicted crimes* had *stampt him soldier*," was his *own son Tom!*

Coming now, Sir, to speak of the connexion subsisting between you and the London newspapers. I must first refer to, and, indeed, repeat the passage of your speech, which calls for, and which will, I trust, be found to justify, every observation that I shall make upon the subject.——Mr. Windham had observed, relative to the public prints, that, amongst a great deal of execrable stuff, one did, now and then, find a good remark in them; "and," said he, "these "prints do, at this moment, show a be-"coming activity in the public cause, "though, for a long time, they remained "buried in the same supineness as his Ma-"jesty's ministers."—This, Sir, supposing it to have been confined to the daily prints, was, certainly, not very harsh: it was no more than a member of parliament might, without the least imputation of severity, be suffered to say of the public prints, especially as the terms were general, and no particular paper, or even class of papers, pointed at. But, the fact is, that it was not confined to the *daily* prints; there was no distinction of this sort made; yet you chose, for reasons that will by-and by appear, to make this part of the right hon. gentleman's speech the ground of a serious and heavy charge, on the part of those prints. "I cannot," said you, "suspend the expression of the indig-"nation I feel at the manner in which he "(Mr. Windham) has expressed his con-"tempt of the use of the press of Great Bri-"tain, as far as relates to our *diurnal* Jour-"nalists. He has condescended to admit, "that amidst a mass of execrable trash in "the newspapers, there is now and then "something worth attending to. Sir, I can-"not hear with patience this libel on what "I consider to be the boldest, and at the "present moment the most forward bul-"wark of our liberty and constitution."—— Mr. Windham had uttered no "libel" on the press; he had not "expressed his con-"tempt of the use of the press of Great "Britain, as far as related to the *diurnal* "journalists," not one of whom did he know, even, perhaps, by name. He had, on the contrary, expressed his approbation at the manner, in which the press was beginning to be used: "these prints do," says he, "at this moment, show a *becoming activity* "*in the public cause.*" Where, then, was the ground for your charge; where was the reason for your taking fire so officiously in behalf of the diurnal prints? But, to proceed with your speech: "Among the pro-"vocations which our *atrocious* enemy has "given us to renew the present war, I have "considered his audacious attempt to bully "our ministers into a surrender of the free-"dom of the British press to be the greatest "(*Loud cry of hear! hear!*) And I do not "hesitate to say, that at the present crisis of "impending peril to the safety of the throne, "the safety of the constitution, the freedom "of the people, and the protection of pro-"perty, no country on earth through all its "ranks and all its interests ever owed an

* Merchant of Venice, Act. III. Scene I.

"equal degree of gratitude and obligation "to any quarter or to any protecting exer- "tion as this country now owes to the spi- "rited and principled exertions of the gene- "ral press of Great Britain. The right "hon. gentleman, however, I am sure, does "not mean to extend his censure or con "tempt to all periodical political publica- "tions. The poor daily prints are of low "rank which he may despise; but the *aris- "tocratic* dignity of a *Weekly Register*, I sus- "pect, is exempted from his sarcastic ani- "madversions."—As to the attempt of our *atrocious* enemy to bully ministers into a surrender of the freedom of the British press, the attempt was not altogether unsuccessful; and, it will, to men of principle and of discernment appear rather odd, Sir, that you should, amidst all your anxiety for the press, have entirely overlooked the affair of Mr. Peltier, who, while ministers were in hopes of preserving peace, was prosecuted and convicted of libelling Buonaparté, but who, the rupture having been resolved on soon after the trial, was *never brought up to receive judgment!* Here, indeed, was a case for an advocate for the liberty of the press; but, it was a case with which you took very good care not to meddle. Allowing that you are right in considering the attempt upon the press to be the greatest of all the provocations, which the enemy has given us to renew the war. *What* press was it the freedom of which he wanted surrendered to him? Not that of your *diurnal* prints: those prints were serving him very well indeed. No; it was not the London newspapers that he wanted to put down; it was, to use Mr. Otto's own words, "*Peltier*, the "*Courier François* de Londres, *Cobbett*, and "other writers, who *resembled them*." * It was not the Morning Post and the True Briton and the Times, and such publications, but Peltier, Regnier, and Cobbett, and writers who resembled them, that the person, whom you now call "our *atrocious* "enemy," and whom you formerly eulogized by applying to him the description of Hannibal, wished to annihilate. Mr. Peltier and Mr. Regnier wrote and published in French; so that my "*aristocratical* "Weekly Register" appears to have been the only part of the "*British* press," the freedom of which our enemy attempted to make the ministers surrender, a circumstance which you certainly had forgotten, when you declared this attempt was the *greatest* of all the provocations, which had led us to renew the war! Nay, Sir, struggle not! I have you fast: there is no turn nor twist that can rescue you from my grasp. You have said, in parliament, and it is recorded in the reports of the debates, that the greatest of all the provocations given us by France to renew the war, was the attempt which she made to procure a surrender of the British press; and it is officially declared, in a letter from the French minister to Lord Hawkesbury, that, as far as the British press is concerned, France wishes to silence only *Cobbett* and writers who *resemble him*; so that, according to your own sentiment, so solemnly declared and so loudly cheered by the House and by the gallery, to attempt to suppress *my writings* and others *resembling* them was the greatest of all the provocations given us by France to renew the war! And yet, the time of making this declaration was chosen by you, it was even sought after, as if it had been the properest of all occasions for speaking ill of my work, and for imputing as a crime to Mr. Windham his saying, that I merited a statue of gold. The praise, which he was pleased to bestow on me, was, assuredly, very far beyond my deserts; but, Sir, even supposing his meaning to have been literal, his eulogium falls far short of that which you unwittingly pronounced; for, if the attempt to suppress my writings and those that resembled them was the greatest of all those provocations, which produced the rupture with France, it follows, of course, that to prevent that suppression is one of the principal objects of the present war.—The merits of the diurnal journalists are now to be considered; for, though you did, indeed, speak in praise of the press in general, the whole tenor of your speech proves, that you had the London newspapers principally, if not exclusively, in view. I have, however, no objection to extend your friendship and my hostility to the "general press," as far as politics are concerned; for, most certainly, in this department, baseness has long been the rule, and honourable sentiment the exception. Previous to the peace, some of the newspapers, magazines, reviews, and pamphlets, spoke against Buonaparté, and some in favour of him, according to the interests, and, in some few cases, according to the principles and opinions of the writers, or the proprietors. But, no sooner was the peace concluded, than the whole of them, with the exception of the Porcupine newspaper and the Anti-Jacobin Review, both then the property and under the editorship of the same

* See Mr. Otto's letter to Lord Hawkesbury, of the 25th July, 1802. Register, Vol. III. p. 1002.

gentleman, became loud in his praise. In a little time after this the Register made its first appearance, and steadily kept up that opposition, which I had begun against the peace, in a series of letters to Lord Hawkesbury. The Porcupine newspaper was soon after dropped, and, with the single exception of the editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review, I continued to be the only public writer, who endeavoured to keep alive some sense of the danger, to which we were exposed from the intrigues and the power of our enemy. The pamphleteers of all parties, Sir F. M. Eden and Mr. Chalmers, Mr. Belsham and Mr. Flower; the British Critic and the Monthly Review, the Gentleman's and the Monthly Magazines, the True Briton and the Morning Chronicle; tories and whigs, royalists and republicans, churchmen and sectaries, christians and infidels; all, all that wrote on politics, wrote not only in praise of the peace, but, more or less, in praise of the nation and of the particular person, with whom that peace was made. Nothing was to be heard but expressions of respect for Buonaparté, and of the earnest desire to cultivate with him friendship the most cordial and connexions the most close; while the few persons, who persevered in cautioning the country against its danger, and in endeavouring to prepare it for a successful resistance of that danger, were, on every occasion that presented itself, most shamefully misrepresented, most grossly and scandalously vilified. They were described as a disappointed and mortified faction; persons who, in consequence of the peace, had lost their occupation; men who, for the sake of their own emoluments, were ready to shed the last drop of British blood; advocates for eternal war, alarmists, incendiaries, and blood-hounds. To specify the several instances of baseness displayed by the London newspapers, between the conclusion of the peace and the breaking out of the war, would require a volume of no moderate bulk: one, however, I cannot forbear particularly to mention; I mean, the approbation, which those prints were, before hand, prepared to bestow on his Majesty's ministers for surrendering the Vandean Royalists to Buonaparté, in virtue of Art. XX. of the treaty of Amiens. It was stated, in *all* the London newspapers, that, upon the application of Mr. Otto, ministers had brought several Chouans from Jersey to Southampton; that some of these persons had not been in France since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and others of them had been there and were accused of having, since the signature of the treaty, committed some of the crimes specified in the twentieth article; that ministers were, on the demand of Buonaparté, about *to send the former out of the country*, and to *deliver up* the latter; and that these *pacific* and *conciliatory* steps and intentions ought to be *applauded by the country!* These were the sentiments, Sir, of the London newspapers; of the rabble of hack-writers, whose praises you chaunt, and whose friendship you have the honour to possess. Amongst the provocations, which, according to the statement of the ministers, produced the declaration of war against France, was, the demand of Buonaparté to cause the French Princes and other emigrants *to leave this country*. What! was this so grave a provocation? What, then, shall we think, and what will the world think and say of the London newspapers, who were ready to applaud the "*pacific* and *conciliatory* steps and intentions of ministers," upon the supposition that those steps and intentions extended not only to the forcing French Royalists out of the country, but to the *delivering them up* to Buonaparté, that is to say, to the hands of the executioner, or to those of the driver of the diligence of Cayenne! And, observe, too, that the persons, whom these news-writers thus wished to sacrifice on the altar of peace, or rather of submission, were not mere emigrants, who had taken shelter in this country, but persons, who had been fighting in our cause, and who ought to have been considered as our allies; persons with whom his Majesty had entered into a solemn compact, and whom, as we had, in the treaty, made no stipulation in their favour, it was our bounden duty to protect and to cherish, if, perchance, they escaped, as some of them did, from the republican cut-throats, and landed safe on our shores. Yet, it was these persons that your friends of the London newspress were ready to applaud the ministers for delivering up to Buonaparté: this act of cruelty, of treachery unparalleled, of national infamy everlasting, they were prepared to justify and to praise, because it was, in their opinions, likely to pacify the man, whom they are now loading with every abusive epithet that our copious language can afford.——And, what is the conduct of these news-paper writers now? What has been their conduct, I mean, since the rupture with France? What was that conduct, which you so anxiously sought an opportunity of extolling? These writers did, as Mr. Windham acknowledged, and not only acknowledged but was the first to

observe, upon the breaking out of the war, "show a becoming activity in the public "cause." This, in itself, was well; but, when it was attempted to give to them *all*, the merits of resistance to the will of France; when it was attempted to establish their exclusive pretensions to loyalty and patriotism; when we, who alone had any just claims to public or regal gratitude on this account, were not only to be shut out from any portion of that gratitude, but to be accused of conduct meriting the severest reproach, if not legal, and even infamous punishment; then it became necessary to revert to their former practices, and to state the probable motives, by which a change in the direction of their efforts had been produced. Accordingly, in reply to your panegyrick, Mr. Windham observed, that it was by no means astonishing, that the London newspapers should become the object of your praise; "for," said he, "they have exactly follow-"ed his example. After years of war, in "which he and they professed and dissemi-"nated principles and opinions the most "mischievous to the country, they now "wheel suddenly about, and claim great "merit for desisting from their former con-"duct, and *for endeavouring to preserve them-"selves* from the fury of the storm, which "they *so largely contributed to raise*."—This was the real state of the case; for, never did they heartily set their hands to the work of rouzing the people, till they were told, and till they sincerely believed, that Buonaparté had resolved, if he conquered the country, *to ship off all the news-mongers to Cayenne!* Whether the ministers ought to have credit for this trick, or whether it be due to individual and volunteer invention, I know not; but, its success was complete. Job Aimé, and some other typographical patriots, had given such an account of a tropical climate as was by no means inviting to their brethren of London, who might, on this occasion, be truly said to write for their lives: the time, too, was propitious; fear furnished them with rabble rouzing eloquence, at the very moment that circumstances had created a gaping rabble to their hands.——How they have profited from these advantages, what have been the nature and tendency of their publications, how those publications will bear a comparison with former publications from the same pens and respecting the same principles and the same person or persons, and what degree of credit, for fair and honourable conduct, the nation is likely to derive from their vaunted, puffed, and panegyrized labours, shall occupy the former part of my next letter, with which I, at present, intend to close the series.*—— I am, Sir, your, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR.†

Dublin, 26th Sept. 1803.

SIR,——Your statement, in your paper of the 27th of August, of the transactions which took place here on the 23d of July, was received with satisfaction, by many real friends of their King and country. They were glad to find that the affairs of Ireland had attracted your notice. Though your paper is sent to, and read by many here, it has not universal circulation through the country. It was intended, therefore, to have that particular letter to Mr. Wickham printed here and circulated. But not a newspaper in Dublin would receive it.—— All were under the controul of government. In consequence of this it is intended to address to you a series of letters on the affairs of this kingdom and on the conduct of the present government of Ireland in particular. The object of these letters will be to shew that weakness in government is vice: and that want of talent in min sters, is, in most practical instances, more mischievous than want of principle. After endeavouring to expose the conduct of the *present* government, as it truly deserves, it is intended to advert to the general system, by which Ireland has been governed, and to shew that the rebellions and other disgraces of this unhappy country have been more owing to the weakness of the fluctuating governing instruments, than to the strength of any rebellious principle;—that the latter was not so strong, but that the ordinary exertion of common sense and common vigour would have overcome it. And you know enough of mankind to know, that, to repress vice is to promote virtue. It is intended that these letters shall then go on to shew the necessity not only of a mere change of the present government, but also a change of the system; having proved how dangerous it is, in imperial views, to venture at making a job of a kingdom. The brilliancy of the appendages of a monarchy are no small part of its

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* An appendix to these letters, containing choice morsels from Mr. Sheridan's speeches for thirteen years past, together with all his speeches at the Whig-Club, is now preparing for the press, and will be ready for publication soon after the meeting of Parliament.

† This letter should have appeared *before* the letter, which was inserted in the preceding sheet, p. 545 et seq. It was intended as an *introduction* to the series: but has been thought better to publish it out of place than to omit it altogether.

efficacy and force. And perhaps the brain of a person, claiming nothing but from the rank of an earldom, is too dull and too thick an atmosphere for the people of this country to see through, so as to be able to perceive and to rejoice in the splendour of that monarch, to whom, if they value their own welfare, they ought to be so ardently attached. This will necessarily lead to the consideration, of how far the appointment of one of the royal family to the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would be matter of wise policy. The exalted rank of the personage, independent of its encouragement of that lively and warm feeling of personal attachment, which is the fairest child of loyalty, would set such a government above the temptation of petty jobs to provide for any needy branches of a private family. The following the person of the Prince would also give an importance to the subordinate offices which they have hitherto wanted. It would make them objects to the talent and the laudable ambition of England or Ireland to look to. We have had an attorney from Furnival's-Inn, Chief Secretary here. And the swarm of safe politicians, the Castlereaghs, Hobarts, &c. has been so extensive that we have been inclined to think they were a peculiar race, which like the seeds of those plants, which the botanists denominate "*winged*," found in their own levity the immediate cause of their propagation. I have been led to hope that you would receive such an attempt favourably, from having been a constant receiver and reader of your paper from its commencement, and finding in my own judgment a general agreement with the opinions you have published. The *idem sentire de respublicâ* was *anciently* a bond of friendship, and you seem one of those few men who manifest an affection for ancient principles.——[The letters, in future, will be signed as this letter is, a name adopted without any particular reason, but merely for distinction.] JUVERNA.

Correct Copy of the RESOLUTIONS *moved by* LORD MEADOWBANK, *at the late Meeting of the County of Edinburgh, on the 4th instant; and also of the Resolution moved by the Lord Chief Baron, and afterwards adopted by the Meeting.* [See preceding sheet, p. 554, et seq.]

RESOLVED,—1. That it is without doubt proper that the chief part of the regular forces of the country should be destined for the defence of the south coast, and southern part of the east coast of the island, and of the capital of the empire: but that this destination of these forces renders the greater attention due to the maritime protection of the more northern part of the east coast, and to an effectual and extensive armament of the corresponding districts of the country.——2. That this city is the centre of the landed and monied interests of the northern part of the island, and the seat of the Courts of Justice; and Glasgow with its neighbourhood, in point of commercial capital and enterprise, forms an object only second to London in the empire; while the mines and trade of Newcastle may justly be deemed essential to London itself. And now that the ports of Holland, and the small vessels which ply in the inland or coasting navigation of that country are in possession of the enemy, it may naturally form an object with him to direct one of his principal attacks against so vital a part of the empire, either on account of its own importance, or for diverting thither an army from the defence of the south, or from the unfitness of his vessels to sail round the Orkneys, in the hope in this way to reach Ireland, and at the same time avenge the damage suffered by the bombardments of the coast of France.——3. That to disappoint objects of such consequence, and to afford reasonable tranquillity during the impending winter to this extensive and important quarter of the empire, a fleet consisting of some ships of great force, and of a considerable number of armed vessels of sufficient weight to destroy and run down the small craft of Holland, for the speedy equipment whereof the Greenlandmen now unemployed are at hand; and the destination of which fleet should be to communicate with the fleets to the southward and on the enemy's coast, and to range from Hartlepoole and Whitby to Fifeness and Montrose, and to rendezvous in the Frith of Forth, is essential; and no expense or exertion should be spared by the Government to furnish it without longer delay.——4. That the present exigency imperiously requires that the utmost advantage should be taken of the warlike spirit of the northern counties, and the most active attention paid to answer their urgent demands for arms, ammunition, and military organization, in order that they may immediately find themselves in condition to join with efficacy in the defence of their country, and that all grounds of murmuring and disaffection on this subject be forthwith removed. ——That the meeting knows that arms and military training may safely be bestowed on the inhabitants of this county under suitable regulations, and they believe the same to hold true as to every other county in Scotland. And at any rate they are certain, that they may be safely entrusted with the peasantry of any country where the magistracy of it advise the measure. And the meeting is of opinion, that if Government cannot immediately supply the people with the requisite quantity of arms of the ordinary description, nothing would tend more to intimidate and repel an invading army, than to find the whole inhabitants manifestly hostile, and armed with any formidable wea-

pon, of which the invaders had no experience, and that for this purpose it is highly expedient that the inhabitants of this county, and of other counties in a similar situation, who offer their services, should be taught the use of the spear or pike, under officers, and according to arrangements to be appointed by Government, or the county magistracy: and that for this end, the said magistracy should either receive from Government a sufficient number of spears or pikes, or at least be authorised to cause them to be manufactured at the expense of those parishes which are willing to defray it, and take the charge of distributing and keeping account of the same.——5. That a dutiful and loyal address be presented to his Majesty, stating our invariable and persevering attachment to his person and government, and our readiness to lay down our lives and fortunes to maintain his throne, and transmit unimpaired the independence and glory of his realms to succeeding generations. That we have presumed with the utmost humility and deference, to lay at his Majesty's feet these our sentiments on the means of defending and securing our native land, solely from motives of public duty, and in the fullest confidence that they will meet with his Majesty's paternal consideration, and such regard as in his Majesty's great wisdom they shall be found to deserve.

The following is the Resolution adopted by the Meeting, on the Motion of the Lord Chief Baron:—

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,——That this meeting, understanding from the Lord Lieutenant, that the insufficiency of the maritime force of the east coast of Scotland, and on the Frith of Forth in particular, has been already represented to his Majesty's ministers by the Lieutenants of the county and city: the meeting do unanimously approve of, and return their thanks to his Grace and the Lord Provost for their attention to this important object; and they do concur in the same opinion, and request that his Grace will at the same time represent, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the defence of the east coast of Scotland, and particularly of the Frith of Forth, is not sufficiently provided for; and that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant be requested to convey to his Majesty's ministers the unanimous sentiments of this county on the subject, and their hopes that a sufficient maritime force will be immediately appointed for the protection and security of this part of the coast.

Statements and Observations on the Sugar Trade between Great Britain and her Old West India Colonies we extract from the Jamaica Paper. They were printed for the use of the Members of the Assembly.

	£.		
1785—	2,976,555	By the authorities annexed, it appears that the average custom house value of sugar, imported from the old British Colonies, in the years, 1785, 1786, & 1787, amounted to.....	2,606,190
1786—	2,207,331		
1787—	2,634,686		
3)	7,818,572		
	2,606,100		

Inspector-Gen.

		And that the average quantity of sugar, so imported, was 1,872,165 cwt. the average price of which at market, as appears from merchants and brokers' accounts, was	
1784—	42s. 6d.		
1786—	51s. 1d.		
1787—	49s. 5d.		
3)	143 0		
	47 8		
Duty	12 4	35s 4d. per cwt. (duty excluded), being an excess over the custom house value of sugar of	701,300
	35 4		
G. H. Broker's account.			
			3,307,490

The charges upon the said sugar, which occurred after its arrival in Great Britain, and form a part of the merchants' accounts sales, are the following:—

Freight, 1,872,165 cwt. at 4s. This includes primage.		374,433
Other mercantile charges, at 2s. per cwt.....		187,216
Insurances out and home, say 3,500,000 at 4 per cent. all charges included..	140,000	
1,000,000 exports at 3 per cent. all charges included.	30,000	
	170,000	
		731,649

The average export of British manufacture for the said three years, taken from the Inspector General's report, will be 1,223,063

Add, for the computed difference betwixt such report and the actual value, 50 per cent. the convoy duty having proved it to be of late years 70 per cent. and the disproportion having been found to be increasing..... 611,584*

Add, for Irish supplies each year..... 80,000

1,914,602

Freight, say 6 per cent. with primage.. 114,876

2,029,478

But this export is applicable not only to the sugar plantations, but also to every other agricultural pursuit in the islands; it is also in part re-exported from the islands and the returns for it made in bullion and foreign produce.. 2,575,841

Admitting that the proportionate value of sugar and rum imported to the whole amount of the produce imported

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1785—	1,081,546
1786—	1,108,130
1787—	1,479,527
3)	3.669,203
	1,223,068

Inspector Gen.

£.
1785—4,440,105
1786—3,467,237
1787—3,749,147
3)11,656,789
3,885,596

Inspector Gen.
If
3885:96: 2029478
: : 2,606,190
Ans. 1,362,748

from the colonies, were a just estimate on which to ground the charge of the exports, then the average value of the total import, as stated by the Inspector-gen. being 3,885,596l and the average value of sugar, by the same authority, being 2,606,190l. the proportionate value of the whole exports attaching to the cultivation of sugar would be 1,362,748l.; but that perhaps, is an over-rate, and therefore we will take it at one million, that agreeing pretty exactly with mercantile computations of all the direct and collateral supply of the sugar plantations with British and Irish supplies, freight included..... 1,000,000

Balance in favour of the planter..... 1,575,841
Being less than 20s. per cwt. net.....

Which balance, together with the rum or other produce sold in the plantations, remained applicable to the planter's island contingencies; i. e. expense of taxes, white servants, maintenance of stock and negroes, purchase of lumber and other necessaries from America; this cannot be reckoned in those years, on an average, less than 2l. per hhd. on sugar, say on 150,000 hhds..... 300,000

1,275,841

And from the net sum, after such deductions, the planter had to look for any accumulation or return for his capital expended, as well as for the payment of the interest upon any part thereof which might be borrowed.

In these years the average of the net revenue derived to Great Britain, upon sugar, the produce of the old British plantations, after deducting bounties and drawbacks, was..... 897,242

1798—2,680,097
1799—3,373,038
1800—3,133,465
9,186,600
3)9,186,600
3,062,200

Inspector Gen.

By the Inspector General's account it appears that the average cust.-house value of sugar, imported in the three years, 1798, 1799, & 1800, was..... 3,062,200

1798—67s. 6d.
1799—38s. 0d.
1800—47s. 6d.
3)153s. 0d.
51s. 0d.

G.H. Brokers ac.

The price of sugar was very high in 1798, greatly depressed in 1799, and rose again to a moderate price in 1800; the average price of the three years, taking in the quantity sold at each price, was about 51s. per cwt. (duty exeluded,) which makes the value of the sugar sold on an average, more than the Inspector General's estimate, the average quantity of sugar imported being 2,238,862 cwt..... 2,646,896

5,709,096

1798—1,959,057
1799—2,467,122
1800—2,290,418
6,716,587
3
2,238,862

Inspector Gen.

From which deduct the charges in accounts sales, say
Freight, including primage 1,377,990
Other charges, 5s.9d. per cwt. 574,162

Insur. on 6,000,000 home, at 3 per cent. commission, and all charges included..... 480,000
On 2,800,000 exports, at 6 per cent. all charges included 168,000
—— 648,000
—— 2,600,152

3,108,244

1798—4,068,390
1799—3,983,409
1800—2,633,231
10,685,120
3)10,685,120
3,561,700

Inspector Gen.

The average export of British manufactures to the old British cols. only, appears to be, in these 3 years, according to the custom-house estimate..... 3,561,700
And the convoy duty has proved the same to be about 70 per cent. under the actual value, for which add.. 2,493,190

Add for supplies from Ireland 200,000

6,254,890

Add freight and convoy duty outwards, at 12 per cent... 750,588

7,005,478

Of this immense average export, if proportioned according to the relative value of sugar imported with that of all the produce imported from the old British colonies, it would be found that the sum of 4,205,041l. attaches to the cultivation of sugar. This mode of computation deserves more credit, as it is well known that the supplies imported into the British sugar islands are, in

Of the Value of Imports.
1798—4,501,789
1799—5,154,371
1800—5,639,452
15,304,612
3)15,304,612
5,101,537

Inspector Gen.

£5,101,537 : 7,005,478
: : 3,062,200

Ans. £4,205,041

proportion to the relative value of the produce exported, far greater on a sugar than on a coffee, cotton, or pimento plantation. But allowance must be made for the foreign plantation trade, and for the consumption of mercantile and military people, not directly, though certainly in a great measure dependent upon the agricultural returns. On inspection, however, of planters and merchants accounts, which prove that, from quantity and value, the cost of supplies during the three years, ending in 1800, had, in the foregoing twelve or thirteen years, been more than doubled in amount; while also the number and extent of the sugar settlements have increased. We cannot state the amount attaching to sugar plantations at less than (freight included) 2,500,000

Which leaves a balance in the planters' favour of 603,944

From which sum, and from rum and other produce sold in the islands, the planter had to provide the internal taxes; the island contingencies; the wages of servants; support of numbers of stock and negroes; purchase of lumber and other articles from America, all increased in cost, during the last twelve years, (as may be made appear from authentic documents) more than in double ratio, and cannot be rated at less than 5l per hogshead on the average (after crediting the rum, &c.) not here accounted for, say on 200,000 hogsheads 1,000,000

Average loss to the planter in these three years 391,056

And, as this statement leaves the planter a loser by his cultivation, it is wholly unnecessary to speak of any return for capital expended, or interest upon debt he may have borrowed.

The net average revenue derived to Great-Britain from sugar, the produce of the old British colonies, in the three years 1798, 1799, and 1800, including convoy duty, and deducting drawback and bounty for the quantity of raw and refined sugar exported in those years, amounted to 1,376,700

If we look forwards for three years to come, and assume that the average in port from the old British colonies will equal that of the three years 1798, 1799, and 1800, say 2,238,862 cwt. and that an average price may be obtained for it, of 50s. per cwt. (duty excluded) the gross sum arising from sugar will then be 5,597,155

From which deduct mercantile charges, say freight, 5s. per cwt. round, with primage	559,715	
Other charges, 3s. per cwt.....	335,829	
Insurance home on 5,850,000l. at 4½ per cent. all charges included.....	263,250	
British and Irish supplies (which will not rapidly fall in price) at only (freight included)....	2,000,000	
Insurance on ditto, at 3 per cent. all charges included.....	60,000	
		3,218,794
		2,378,361
And, further deduct the overplus of plantation contingencies, beyond rum and other produce sold in the islands, which will not be rapidly, or at all, in many instances, reduced, at 4l. per hogshead on 200,000 hogsheads of sugar		800,000
		1,578,361

It will appear that the net balance to the planters will not be more (considering the increased extent and number of the plantations) than it was on an average of three years, ending in 1787, although the relative value of money is since that time greatly lessened, and this supposes a price of sugar exceeding the present average price of that article, full 12s. per cwt. and which there is no present prospect of obtaining.

Supposing the sugar plantations in the old British islands to employ a capital of 40,000,000l. the return here stated is not an interest of more than 4 per cent.

200,000 hogsheads of sugar, at 20l. each, 4,000,000l. at ten years purchase, gives 40,000,000l.

From the foregoing statements a comparison may be drawn of the contribution to the mother country arising from the article of sugar, the produce of the old British colonies, on the average of three years, ending in 1787; and on an average of three years, ending in 1800: and in this statement full credit will be given, in both instances, for the proportion of exports respectively attached to the value of the return in sugar, compared with the value of the whole return of those islands, as unquestionably all their collateral commercial gains originate in and are dependent upon their culture; the accounts will stand thus:

On the average of three years, ending in 1787, the single article of sugar, the produce of the old British sugar colonies, contributed to Great-Britain,

In net revenue	897,242	
In freight homewards ..	374,433	
In mercantile charges ..	187,216	
In premiums of insurance	170,000	
In payment for British and Irish manufactures (including freight on ditto)	1,362,745	
		2,991,636

On the average of three years, ending in 1800, the same article, produced in the same islands, contributed,

In net revenue	1,376,700	
In freight	1,377,990	
In mercantile charges ..	574 161	
In premiums of insurance	648,000	
In payment for British manufactures and Irish provisions (including freight on ditto)	4,205,041	
		8,181,893
Being an excess of contribution from the article of sugar, in the latter period, above the former, to the direct use of the manufacturers, ship-owners, merchants, underwriters, and revenue, of the mother country, of the sum of		5,190,257

Upon the foregoing statement it is to be observed, that the three years, ending in 1787, were not only years of peace, but they were antecedent to the extraordinary prices of produce obtained by the British planter for a short time preceding the late war, owing to the convulsions in the French islands; that they comprise one very large crop, that of 1785, and two moderate ones; and that the prices of these years were so far from being deemed oppressive on the British consumer, that a considerable increase of internal consumption took place therein.

That the three years, ending with 1800, comprise fair average crops; one year of great prices; one of prices much depressed by the reduction of the drawback and bounty; one of medium prices, caused by the restoration of the drawback and bounty to the former footing: that the average price of the three years, although nearly 16s. per cwt. greater than that of the former period, yet proves considerably inadequate to compensate the extra charges of war, and the additional expenses incurred by the increased price of British manufactures, &c.

That the average price of the last year, 1801, must greatly aggravate the planter's loss, as it will doubtless prove 5s. or 6s. per cwt. lower than the average of the three preceding years, during which sugar has obviously not returned to the planter its prime cost.

That the price of 50s. per cwt. duty excluded, considered as a peace price, is sufficient to prevent a continuance of loss to the planter, but is yet less advantageous to him than the price of 35s. 4d. obtained in the years 1785 to 1788, also years of peace.

That, comparing the three years, ending in 1788, with the three years ending in 1800, as to the reciprocal advantages derived from the connexion of the mother country with the sugar colonies, and adverting to the cultivation of sugar only, it appears, that in the latter period the mother country derived an increased advantage from that connexion of upwards of five millions; while, in the same period, the sugar cultivators in the old British colonies experienced a difference of upwards of one million and a half to their disadvantage.

That, although the net revenue, after deducting drawbacks and bounties, has herein been only charged as an advantage resulting to the mother country from the importation of sugar from her own colonies, it ought also to be taken into the account, that in the former of the periods alluded to, a value not less than 450,000l. per annum on the average; and, in the latter of those periods, a value not less than two millions annually, in sugar, the produce of the old British colonies, was exported, and thereby swelled the commercial balance in favour of Great-Britain.

It is worthy of remark, that the export of sugar is importantly beneficial to the mother country in other respects. A surplus for exportation cannot be produced without producing also an extra consumption of British manufactures, and extra employment of ships and seamen, in the threefold operation of conveying those manufactures to the West-Indies, bringing home the surplus produce from thence, and exporting it to the Continent. The extended cultivation of sugar, for the purpose of supplying foreign markets, is a means of converting into money the products of British industry, with the additional advantage of effecting it in such a manner as opens new sources of naval strength; and in this last view, it is more important so to apply British manufactures, than in a direct supply to foreign countries.

The peculiar protection of Great-Britain is her naval strength: her enjoyments, as well as her power, depend on her commerce: an extensive sale of the products of her industry to foreign consumers, might produce wealth, though not a single ship of her own was employed in transporting them; but to maintain and increase her naval strength, it is highly important to encourage that species of commerce which, while it produces a beneficial application of British manufactures, at the same time creates employment for the greatest number of ships and seamen.

It is the principal excellence of the British Colonial Trade, that it combines the means of benefiting at once the wealth and the naval strength of the mother country.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, OCT. 20, 1803.—*Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Gambier, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Newfoundland, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated on board the Isis, at St. John's, the 20th of August*, 1803.

Sir,—I send herewith an extract of a letter from Captain Malbon, of his Majesty's ship Aurora, giving an account of his having taken possession of the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.——I have the honour to be, &c. J. GAMBIER.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Malbon, commanding his Majesty's Ship Aurora, to Vice-Admiral Gambier, Commander in Chief at Newfoundland, &c.

On the 30th June, about four o'clock in the morning, I made the Island of Peters; and at five sent the large cutter and launch, manned and armed with a twelve-pound carronade, under the command of Lieutenant Richard Longfield Davies, and Lieutenant Baillie, of the Marines, to oblige the town to surrender, or begin the attack; between six and seven o'clock they entered the harbour, under a very thick fog, and perceiving a boat crossing from one side to the other, brought her to, in which they found the commissary, who acted as Governor. The confusion that the place was thrown into from the sudden attack prevented the inhabitants from assembling together, and at half past seven the commissary surrendered the Island, by delivering the colours to Lieutenant Davies. From what has been since learned there is no doubt, that if the inhabitants could have had time to have collected themselves from their different situations, they would have

made a strong resistance, having since discovered upwards of one hundred stand of arms among them. Knowing the small force in the boats, I used my utmost efforts to get his Majesty's ship into the harbour, but was as frequently prevented by thick fogs. About eleven, it being somewhat clear, I entered under a very heavy press of sail between the rocks, which were not a cable's length across, and at two P. M. brought to with the best bower in fifteen fathom water. Found here a French merchant brig, Le Reines des Anges, and a schooner, Le Provoyier, with eleven small schooners. and upwards of one hundred battoes. The Island contained fish, stores, salt, and merchandize of various descriptions, and, upon a rough survey, about two hundred and twenty men were upon the Island and in the boats; but they being so detached several got away in the small craft, one of which, I have since been informed, was taken off Liverpool, in Nova Scotia, and another at St. Lawrence, in Newfoundland.——On every thing being secured, I ordered one of the fishing schooners to be fitted as a tender, and having her manned and armed with a twelve-pound carronade, gave the command to Lieutenant Davies, with directions to scour the coast, and take possession of the Islands of Great and Little Miquelon, which he did, but *no inhabitants* or stores were found at either of those places.

J. GAMBIER.

Proclamation relative to Aliens, dated 12th Oct. 1803.

GEORGE R.——Whereas by an Act passed in the forty-third year of our reign, intituled "An Act "to repeal an Act passed in the last session of Par- "liament for establishing regulations respecting "Aliens arriving in this kingdom, or residing "therein; and for establishing, until three "months after the ratification of a definitive "treaty of peace, regulations respecting Aliens ar- "riving in this kingdom, or residing therein, in "certain cases;" We are authorised by our Royal Proclamation, from time to time, to require and command every alien who now is in, or who shall hereafter come into, Great Britain, except as therein excepted, to register himself or herself, and thereupon to obtain our Royal Licence to reside within this kingdom, as therein mentioned: Now we, being desirous of carrying into execution the purposes of the said Act, do, by this our proclamation, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, require and command every Alien who shall be in this Kingdom on the day of the date of this our Proclamation, except as hereinafter excepted, to register himself or herself, in the manner hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, "All Aliens "residing in the City of London, shall, within ten "days from the publication of this our proclama- "tion, in the London Gazette, so register them- "selves with the Lord Mayor of the said City:— "All Aliens residing in the City and Liberties of "Westminster, or elsewhere within the Bills of "Mortality (except the City of London), or resi- "ding within ten miles of the City of London, "shall, within ten days from the publication of "this our Proclamation in the London Gazette, "so register themselves with the Magistrates at "one of the undermentioned Public Offices, in the "District of which Office such Alien shall then "reside; that is to say, the Police-Office, Queen- "square, Westminster; Great Marlbro'-street; "Hatton Garden; Lambeth street, Whitechapel; "Worship-street, Shoreditch; High-street, Shad- "well; and Union Hall, Southwark:—All Aliens "residing out of the districts aforesaid, and with- "in any Cities or Corporate Towns, or within the "jurisdiction of the Magistrates of such Cities or "Corporate Towns respectively, shall, within "fourteen days from the publication of this our "Proclamation in the London Gazette, so regis- "ter themselves with the Mayor or other Chief "Magistrate of such Cities or Corporate Towns "respectively:—And all Aliens residing in other "places in Great Britain shall, within eighteen "days from the publication of this our Proclama- "tion in the London Gazette, so register them- "selves with some Magistrate of the County or "Place where such Aliens respectively reside."

And we do further require and command all Aliens who shall come into Great Britain, after the publication of this our Proclamation in the London Gazette, to register themselves in the manner hereinafter mentioned with the Lord Mayor, Mayors, or other Magistrates as aforesaid, within two days after every such Alien shall have arrived within any such City, Town, District, or other place to which he shall be allowed to proceed, by passport granted for that purpose, except Aliens who are required by our Proclamation of the twelfth August last to land at no other Port than the Ports of Yarmouth, Harwich, Dover, and Southampton, and at Gravesend, whom we hereby require and command to register themselves in manner hereinafter mentioned, at the Alien Office in Crown-street, Westminster.——And we do further require and command every Alien, for the purpose of obtaining such licence as aforesaid, to deliver, or cause to be delivered, to the person or persons with whom such Alien is hereby required to register himself or herself as aforesaid, a full and true declaration or account in writing of his or her name, age, place of birth, rank, occupation, profession, the place of residence when last in his or her own country, together with the last and principal place of residence before his or her arrival in this kingdom, the name or names of some person or persons in this country to whom known, the reason or purpose for which he or she came to this kingdom, the time when, and the place at which such Alien last arrived in Great Britain, and where his or her actual residence has been since such last arrival, and is at the time of giving in such declaration, which said declaration or account shall be signed by such Alien with his or her name or mark.——And we do hereby authorize and appoint the said Lord Mayor, Mayors, and other Magistrates as aforesaid respectively, to receive such accounts as aforesaid, and do require and command them respectively to cause the original account to be transmitted within two days to our principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the purpose of such Alien obtaining our Royal Licence to reside within Great Britain from the said Secretary, whom we do hereby authorise and appoint to grant such licences, or from such other person or persons who now are, or who shall from time to time be authorised and appointed by us to grant such licences.——And we do further authorise and require the said Lord Mayor, Mayors, and other Magistrates as aforesaid, to whom any such accounts shall be delivered as aforesaid, to grant under his hand and seal to the Alien delivering such account, a provisional licence to reside within Great Britain, under such restrictions as shall appear fit, during the time that shall be therein allowed to such Alien for obtaining our Royal Licence as aforesaid.——And we do further declare, that this our Proclamation shall

not extend to require any Alien to obtain such licence as aforesaid, who shall, before the publication of this our Proclamation in the London Gazette, have obtained our Royal Licence to reside in any part of this kingdom.——And we do further direct, that every Alien as aforesaid, upon every change of residence, as well as to any place in the same city, town, district, or place, as in any other city, town, district or place, shall give four days previous notice thereof to the person or persons with whom he or she has been so registered, and shall again register himself or herself in manner before mentioned according to such new residence, declaring the residence from whence he or she is removed ——And we do further declare, that no foreign Ambassador, or other public Minister duly authorised, nor the domestic servants of any such foreign Ambassador, or public Minister registered according to the directions of the laws in force for that purpose, and being actually attendant upon such Ambassador or Minister; nor any Alien not above the age of fourteen years, shall be deemed within the meaning and intent of this proclamation ——And we do further declare, that all such licences, and provisional licences, as aforesaid, shall be given without fee or reward, and shall be subject to no duty or charge whatsoever. ——And we do further declare and make known, that every Alien who shall be found at large in Great Britain after the time by this our Proclamation limited for registering and thereupon obtaining licences as aforesaid, such Aliens not having obtained such licence respectively, and not being exempted as aforesaid, will be liable on conviction to suffer imprisonment for any time not exceeding six months, according to the provisions of the said Act.——Given at our Court at St. James's, the 12th day of October, 1803, in the 43d year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.——The epidemic fever which has prevailed at New-York, with so much malignity, during the last summer, begins to abate. Philadelphia, and some other places which have been afflicted with a similar disease for some years past, have, this year, been entirely free from it.——Great numbers of the French planters have fled from St. Domingo to America, and the condition of those who remain becomes every day more miserable. On the one side they are continually harassed by the negroes, and the British squadron blockades the ports of the island with so much strictness that they can receive scarcely any supplies of provisions from abroad, Port Republicain is almost deserted; Fort Jeremie has been completely abandoned to the negroes; and it is reported that Gen. Rochambeau has offered to surrender the island to the British.——At Jamaica, it is said, that arms and ammunition have lately been discovered in the huts of some of the negroes in the district of Rio Boeno, and in some others; but that no regular plan of insurrection had been formed, and that the principal parts of the island are tranquil.——On the 29th of July, a deputation of the principal inhabitants of Port au Prince arrived at Port Royal, for the purpose of requesting the Governor either to take measures to possess himself of the place, or to suffer them to seek an asylum at Port Royal, as they were almost reduced to a state of starvation —— On the 31st of August, Gen. Grinfield and Com. Hood sailed from Barbadoes to take possession of the Dutch settlements in the West-Indies: Demarara was to be the first object of attack, and from its imperfect state of defence must fall an easy conquest.——Martinique and Guadaloupe are blockaded by English ships; and an attempt was recently made upon the former, in which the assailants were repulsed with some loss.

DOMESTIC.——Orders have been given for placing Ireland in a better state of defence. Great quantities of stores and ammunition are immediately to be sent them; signal-posts are to be erected all along the coast; and the fleet on that station is to be considerably increased.——Several rebels have very lately been apprehended near Saunders-Grove in the county of Kildare, among whom is Neil, the friend and brother-in-law of the noted Dwyer.——The grand juries at Downpatrick and Carricktergus have found bills of indictment against several persons accused of high treason. At the latter place, the trial of Russel took place on the 20th inst., and after a long investigation of the cause, the jury found him guilty. He addressed the court in a speech of some length, in which he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct; and was then sentenced to death.——It is reported, that a gentleman of the name of Cobbett, who resided at St. Domingo in the quality of a British agent, after the arrangement between Gen. Maitland and Toussaint, has been again sent there to form some amicable sort of intercourse with the blacks in that island.——At a meeting of the Aldermen of London, held last week, it was proposed that those citizens who from age, or from the attention which it is necessary for them to pay to commercial pursuits, are unable to engage in more active duties, shall come forward in aid of the police, in their respective districts. A plan for assembling and training them was suggested, and the measure is immediately to be carried into execution in all the wards of the city.——The following notice was put up at Lloyd's Coffee-house on the 21st. inst. "All vessels bound to Spain and Portugal are not permitted to clear out at the Custom-house without further orders."

It has, since, been reported that, in reply to the explanations demanded by the Spanish Ambassador, Lord Hawkesbury said "that "the instructions given at the Custom-house "relative to the clearing out of vessels for "Spain and Portugal referred merely to Bri- "tish vessels, and were to be considered "only as a measure of precaution, that none "might sail without convoy."

MILITARY.—Private intelligence from the Continent states, that, on the 4th instant, Buonaparté reviewed a large body of troops intended to form part of the army which is intended to invade England; that, on the 13th, there were forty-two thousand men who would be ready to embark in ten days; and that the 10th demi brigade, which was in Holland, had refused to volunteer in the invasion, and had been sent, in disgrace, to the banks of the Rhine.—Orders have been issued for erecting fire-beacons at White-Bostil. and Mount Kerry, near Lewes; at Kallingbury Castle and Walsenberry Hill, near Brighton; at Shentenbury Hill, near Steyning; at Jevington Down, near East Bourn; and at Crowborough, near Tunbridge Wells. Guards from the militia regiments are to be stationed at each beacon.—The defensive works at Pevensey, upon which two thousand men have been employed for this month past, are now completed. In both the northern and southern divisions of Pevensey Rape measures have been concerted for removing all the live stock into the interior of the country, in case the French should land in Sussex.—Upwards of three hundred persons have been employed since the 10th inst. in preparing the ground on the west side of Athlone, for the purpose of erecting extensive fortifications there, to protect the grand military dépôt and garrison of that place.—Some of the army of reserve have obstinately persisted in refusing to serve for any longer term than the continuation of the war, and, it is said, will therefore be sent to reinforce the garrisons of Guernsey and Jersey.—On the 26th and 28th inst. his Majesty reviewed the volunteer corps of the metropolis in Hyde Park.

NAVAL.—Two French line of battle ships, which left the harbour of Cape François on the 24th of July, were pursued by his Majesty's ships the Vanguard and the Elephant. After a chase of twenty-four hours, the ship with which the Vanguard was engaged struck her colours, and was carried into Kingston, Jamaica. She is called the Du Quesne, and carries 74 guns. When the Vanguard left the fleet, the Elephant was engaged with the other ship, which is also a seventy-four, and is called the Du Guay Trouin.—Dispatches have been brought from Sir James Saumarez, dated on the 17th instant, in Guernsey road: they have not yet been published, but they are said to inform the Lords of the Admiralty, that on the night of the 28th ult. seventeen flat-bottomed boats sailed from Granville, and got into a small port to the eastward, whence they proceeded the following night to Dieppe, keeping all the time so close to the shore, that it was impossible to get near them.—His Majesty's ship Acasta has captured the French privateer l'Aventure, of 20 guns and 150 men; she has also recaptured two ships from Jamaica.—On the 27th ult. Capt. Wolfe, in l'Aigle, off Vigo, captured, after a chase of several hours, the French privateer l'Alerte, of 14 guns and 84 men; she had been sixty-five days from Bourdeaux, on a cruize.—A detachment has been sent from the Downs to attack the island of Marcou; among them are two bomb-vessels.—The squadron stationed upon the southern coast of Ireland consists of four seventy-four gun ships; one frigate of forty-six guns; one of thirty-eight; three of thirty-six; two of thirty-two; one ship of eighteen, and two of fourteen guns, and three smaller vessels; none of them are permitted to go more than six leagues from the land.—A small squadron, under the orders of a flag-officer, is to be sent for the protection of the Scotch coast. The Gorgon, armed *en flute*, is stationed at Leith, as a guard ship; and La Tourterelle, armed *en flute*, is to defend the Clyde.—The French squadron which got into Ferrol some time ago, has received a strong reinforcement of men from France, and is now lying in the inner harbour, with a Dutch ship of the line and a corvette.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE VOLUNTEERS seem, at the present moment, to have attained the zenith of their glory. They were thanked by the House of Commons for services which they had not, and which they never will perform, and Mr. Sheridan, who proposed that vote of thanks, has now reviewed them in Hyde Park; for, as to the King, he was, if we are to believe the insolent newspapers, a very insignificant person when compared to Mr. Sheridan, who, we are told, was "conducted up to the Royal "Standard by a General Officer, and who "there conversed with the King very familiarly for some time." There was only this wanted to give to the whole proceeding that farcical finish, which the several parts seem to demand.——The ministers, after having thrown a slur on the army, after having made a most invidious distinction between it and the Volunteer Corps, after having given a decided preference to the latter, as far as the House of Commons could go, have now advised and prevailed upon his Majesty to do the same.—And why were the Volunteers of *London* to have the preference? Because they are the most inefficient? Because they were the most forward to make a refractory opposition to the reduction of their numbers? Or, is it because they are *nearest* to the Bank, and to White-

hall and Downing-street? Poor weak souls must those be, who expect to provide for their security by flattering such people as these.——The Royal Standard has been hoisted at no review of the army. What has the army done, that it is to be thus studiously cast in the back ground? Surely the Corps that fought in Egypt, at Malta, at Martinico, and at a hundred other places, have as good claims to the gratitude of their Sovereign and their Country as Corps, the members of which never yet, at any rate, saw an enemy, nor ever slept a night out of their own houses.—But, these marks of Legislative and Royal Favour are intended to encourage the Volunteers. Since they are raised, since they, unfortunately, are to be, in some sort, depended upon for the defence of the metropolis and the country, they should certainly receive all due encouragement; but, no military honours should be bestowed on them, equal to those which the corps of the army are accustomed to receive. No small portion of the Volunteer Corps, in and about the capital, are called *Royal*. Why, *royal* is an epithet of honour, attached to the name of a corps as a reward only for most honourable and most signal services. The Marines, for instance, have lately been made a *Royal* corps, and their facings, if ever-varying caprice had not chopped them off, would have been *blue*, instead of *white*, as they were before. The army looked upon this change as a very great honour conferred on the corps of Marines; but, both the army and the nation agree, that it was an honour, which the bravery and unshaken fidelity that the Marines had evinced, at all times, but particularly during the mutiny in the fleet, fully deserved. But, if this honour is bestowed on corps which have never rendered any service at all; if it is scattered about, like the title of modern knighthood, merely to gratify emptiness and vanity; if it is made use of for the vile purpose of keeping the worst of the rabble, the talking, snarling, shop-keeping rabble, in good humour; if it is thus flung to the dogs, how can it possibly be any longer held in estimation by the army? One very valuable possession of the King is, therefore, now rendered nothing worth. Honours, and particularly military honours, are, as Burke most happily described them, "the *cheap defence of nations*;" but, he at the same time observed, that the road to those honours must be rugged, steep, and the object most difficult to attain. Honours of every kind are, in one respect, like money: their value is always in a direct proportion to their rareness: as they increase they depreciate, till, if multiplied beyond due bounds, they, as in the present instance, change their nature, become a sort of paper currency, and, though they may, for some time, serve as a kind of legal tender, no man and no body of men, who have sterling merit, and who seek for sterling fame, will ever covet their possession. The same may be said of the thanks of the House of Commons, which have been lavished on corps that *did not yet exist*, on persons who had not only not done any thing, but who were not yet known, and who, at last for the far greater part, became Volunteers for the purpose of *avoiding real military service*. If these thanks were hereafter to be transmitted to any part of the army who should repel the enemy, and save the state, what must be the sentiments of the officers and men, to whom such a tender should be made? ——One thing, however, in these reviews of the Volunteers seems to have been proper enough; the huzzaing, "the English huzza," as the Adjutant General calls it, the three cheers, the rabble-like shout, which this domestic army made, at one part of the ceremony. Did ever any man hear of an army's huzzaing at a Review, and in presence of their Sovereign, except in revolutionary times? Indeed, it is impossible to contemplate this parading of "*citizen soldiers*," a compound term which they are careful to assume, this huzzaing of the King, this swearing allegiance; it is impossible to contemplate all this, without recollecting the Champ-de-Mars, and the mournful history of the monarch, who, by a weak and mob-courting ministry, was led to throw aside his faithful army, and to commit his throne and his life to the guardianship of "citizen-soldiers."——Being on the subject of Volunteer-Corps, it may not be amiss to make an observation or two on the turn, which the newspapers have attempted to give to the circumstance of Mr. Windham's having been appointed Captain of the Felbrigg Volunteer-Corps. These candid vehicles of news have chosen to represent this as a striking mark of *inconsistency* in that gentleman, who had so strenuously opposed the establishment of this sort of corps, and who wished to have a voluntary force of another description. Felbrigg is the name of the place where Mr. Windham's estate, in Norfolk, lies. The corps there consists chiefly of his tenants, workmen, and neighbours, who, by the by, had been, I believe, in great part, at least, collected together by his direction, and partly armed at his expense, *before* the bill relative to volunteer-corps was brought into parliament. When it was determined to have

nothing but volunteer-corps, Mr. Windham was, of course, compelled to head his people, under that establishment, or not to head them at all; so that, if he has, in this respect, acted inconsistently, every one who has opposed the passing of a law, and who afterwards *obeys* that law, is chargeable with inconsistent conduct. But, it may be said, that there was no law which he would have disobeyed in not becoming Captain of the Felbrigg Corps: yes, there are two laws, the law of nature and the law of honour; those laws which oblige him to seek for the preservation of his property and his life, and which no less imperiously call upon a man like him to endeavour to prevent the disgrace of his country. Every man, who seriously wishes to assist in the defence of the kingdom, wishes to be furnished with a musket; but, if the government will give him nothing but a piece of sharp iron upon the end of a stick, which is now sublimated into the name of *pike*, would any one think of charging him with *inconsistency*, if he endeavoured to defend himself with the said pike? Mr. Windham is situated in a country, lying just opposite the grand depository of the French invading force, and having a sea coast of more than a hundred miles in extent, defended by two troops of heavy horse, one regiment of militia, and about a dozen or eighteen pieces of cannon! This is not a situation, in which a person can be disposed to hesitate about the sort of force, which he shall use: like a man beset with thieves, he lays hold of the first thing that comes within his reach. Mr. Windham does not pay for paragraphs in the news-papers; he does not, like Mr. Sheridan, hawk his person about to be seen and smiled upon by the silly babbling shop-keepers of London and its environs; but he is not, for that reason, inattentive to the interests of his country, or inactive in promoting those interests. Since the prorogation of parliament, he has been constantly employed in endeavouring to put the county of Norfolk in a state of defence; he has visited every part of its extensive and naked coast, has roused the people to exertions which they before thought not of, and has shown the voters of Norwich, those lovers of peace and a large loaf, that his patriotism is not to be lessened by any degree of ingratitude or injustice.

IRELAND.—Buonaparte's game is so sure, if he can only keep us, for a year or two, in our present state, that many persons think he will, with regard to the invasion of England, master his impetuosity. In fact, he has placed us in a *state of siege*, and, if he were to seize neutral vessels coming into any of our ports, arguments from our internal situation might be brought to justify the proceeding. He has not as yet made an assault, neither have we made a sally; but, on our eastern side he has broken ground, while his flying troops are ready to storm us in the north, the south, or the west. Ireland is the point, to which most people think he is looking; and, therefore, the state of Ireland should be a constant object of our inquiry; for we have had some most fatal proofs, that neither the opinions nor the promises of ministers are, in this respect, to be trusted. The people of England seem to think Ireland restored to a state of perfect security, just as they thought Scotland well defended, till the resolutions of the county of Edinburgh publicly proved the contrary: they seem to think, that the spirit of insurrection has been completely quelled by the execution of a few rebels, though two thirds of the people are discontented: they think Ireland is sufficiently guarded by a few thousand regulars, by the Irish militia, respecting whose disposition it may be prudent not to say much, and by the yeomanry, to whom arms have been so indiscriminately given, that suspicion, in some parts of Ireland, pervades half the ranks. The Irish government declare, that they are entirely safe; as if, by shutting their own eyes, they could shut Buonaparté's. Nothing can be more impolite than to say, that the late rebellion was any thing more than a *riot*, though, in consequence thereof, the parliament, in the course of one night, passed laws for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and for placing the country under martial law. We have sent the Irish a lord-lieutenant, unknown, absolutely unknown, in the military or political world; an equity lawyer we have sent them, a great judge, perhaps, but certainly no statesman, or he would not, at a time like this, have volunteered as a polemic divine, contending, with more than Lutherean zeal, for opinions, which the bench of bishops, and which his Majesty, as head of the church, have now solemnly declared to be "*doubtful*."* The government of Ireland is a government of lawyers and of clerks. The

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* "Give grace, we beseech thee, to his rebellious subjects in Ireland, to see and confess the wickedness of their ways. Bring them to a due sense of the enormity of their crime in rising in open rebellion against the crown of their lawful Sovereign, forgetful of the blessings they have enjoyed under his mild and equitable government: that so returning to their duty, they may become objects of thy mercy and forgiveness. And give us all grace, to put away from us all rancour of religious dissention, that they who agree in the essentials of our most holy faith, and look for pardon through the merits and intercession of the Saviour, may, notwithstanding their differences upon *points of doubtful opinion*, and in the forms of external worship, still be united in the bonds of Christian charity."—FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE LATE FAST.

peers and great landed gentlemen are not consulted; they are offended, and impute the neglect to the Union. The rulers, like all weak ones, court the natural enemies of the state, and, thereby, without gaining friends, lose those whom they possessed, and whom they might rely on. The Irish militia should be exchanged. In their stead troops should be sent, whose fidelity might be relied on, and who would be fit to meet an experienced enemy in the field. As there is no Irish parliament, the peers and great landed gentlemen of the country should be consulted. If troops cannot be spared from Great Britain, transports should, at any rate, be kept ready at Liverpool, &c. and a part of the army held in constant readiness to embark. These are measures dictated by common sense, but, perhaps, that circumstance affords little encouragement to hope, that they will be adopted by the ministers, till, as in the case of Hanover, it be too late.

THE EDINBURGH RESOLUTIONS, at length, will be found in the preceding part of this sheet. They are well worthy of attentive perusal; though they have brought upon the people of Scotland the calumny of the ministerial newswriters, who describe Scotland as "the *most* "*factious* part of his Majesty's dominions." This is the constant practice of the Addingtons, with whom it seems to be a maxim, that they have a right to accuse of *factiousness* all those who, though for the sake of saving their own lives, venture to utter one word that has a tendency to expose the ignorance, the negligence, or the selfishness of the ministry.

THE LLOYD'S FUND seems to have past its meridian. A trifle or two has been bestowed from it; but it will not do. The trick has been seen through; and the committee have not, it seems, been able to squeeze from "the *women* "of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ire"land" more than about 400l. though the subscription extended from duchesses down to the pea-podders of Brentford. It is, however, to be hoped that some member of parliament will move for an inquiry as to the authority by virtue of which Mr. Freeling, an officer of the government, addressed the precepts of the committee to all the magistrates of the kingdom.

"THE BLACK EMPIRE," in Saint Domingo, is, it appears, about to be re-established under the auspices of Mr. Addington! There will, it is hoped, be some one honest and vigilant enough to institute an inquiry into the measures pursued, with respect to this island, since the peace.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—On the 27th another message, relative to the trade with these powers, was sent from the Treasury to the Custom-House; and, it is hardly necessary to say, that it bespoke the irresolution and indecision of the ministry. It stated, that "there was no objection to "Spanish, Portuguese, and other neutral "vessels clearing out for the ports of "Spain and Portugal; but that, British "vessels cannot clear out for those ports "till a convoy is appointed." It has been truly observed, that, while the convoy-law remains in force, this prohibition is superfluous; so that, the orders, which have been given on this subject, amount to just nothing at all, and cannot possibly have any other effect than that of producing a most serious injury to the persons engaged in the Spanish and Portuguese trade. As no convoy is appointed, the British property, destined for Spain and Portugal, will, of course, be shipped and conveyed on board of neutral ships.

ESPRIT-DE-CORPS.—The spirits of Volunteer Corps are, at this moment, very high. These "gentlemen," for so they call themselves, have been reviewed by his Majesty and Mr. Sheridan; and, which has, perhaps, contributed not a little to elate them, they have been informed, by their faithful friends and monitors of the news-papers, that Buonaparté is not prepared to attack us, that his boats are neither cannon proof nor sea worthy, and that (oh! comforting reflection!) it is possible, and even probable, *that he will not come at all!* Lest, however, any untoward circumstance should produce a relapse, we are, fortunately, furnished with a recipe, which, it appears from the following account, published in the public prints, has been most successfully applied to a corps in the county of Essex. "On "the 13th inst. as a party of the Loyal Vo"lunteers of Braintree were at drill, near "the house of the Rt. Hon. Lord Charles "Ansley, his lady, with an air of deco"rum becoming her dignity, stepped into "the field, and saluted them with a con"gratulatory speech on their coming for"ward with such promptitude and zeal in "defence of their King and Country, at this "most important crisis. After which, her "ladyship ordered every man *a glass of spi*"*rits*, she herself *drinking in the first place* to "the success of the Braintree and Bocking "Volunteers, which condescension was re"ceived with the *loudest plaudits* by all pre"sent."——It is to be lamented, that we are uninformed of the sort of spirits, whether brandy, rum, or gin. Your genuine British spirits one would hope to see used on such occasions; and, it has been repeatedly proved, that the natives of America always fight hardest upon yankey, or home made, rum.

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